stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends.

Matsuda Village, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii.

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son.

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

> F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.
>
> Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

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163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

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842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing
[m] conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be
178 possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

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Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.3
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

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Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same.

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In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total.

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

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(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

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A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 689. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

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Table XXV, cont'd.

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Guntō in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

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January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163 •

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [44]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.